Vol. VI, No. 1 January, 1967

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Special Issue

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Both the obverse and reverse types of the same coin are illustrated in many instances and the majority are reproduced x 2—and more often x 3 or x 5. In the introductory text the various aspects of Greek coinage are discussed and there are full notes on each coin illustrated and the mint from which it emanated. Where possible the weight of the coin is given and reference is made either to its location in a major European collection or to its appearance at a major numismatic auction.

The arrangement of the book follows a geographical rather than historical sequence. Thus the development of the coins of different mints is followed and variations in style and types can be examined in the light of their historical background. The four maps show the sites of all the known Greek mints represented by the coins described in the book: the Greek world as a whole, Sicily and South Italy, Mainland Greece and Asia Minor, and the Eastern Mediterranean.

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NORTH AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS

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Photo: Courtesy of Herb Brabandt

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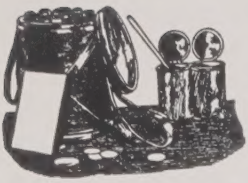

From the Editor's Desk

Past editorials have taken note of the fact that coins are just one of the three major types of source documents for the history of the ancient world. Further, it is only in this century that scholars have come to recognize coins as such a major source. Quite possibly this was due to the relatively recent emergence of numismatic information for general consumption. It was only in the last century that the great task of classification was undertaken in earnest, and even today many problems of attribution have not been fully solved.

Moreover, coins as individual items scarcely can be as dramatic finds as new inscriptions, statues or papyri. No coin can make the impact that the lost *Constitution of Athens* of Aristotle did when found in the last part of the nineteenth century, or the *Themistokles Decree* just a few years ago (although a *hoard* of coins may often generate considerable excitement).

An individual with a modicum of Latin and Greek can struggle through the formal language of an inscription, although dealing with lacunae takes a more experienced hand, and many papyri are relatively readable, although the language does make these more the exclusive property of specialists. Coins, on the other hand, require not only a trained eye, but a certain degree of sophistication on the part of those who deal with them. Many "pure" classicists just do not possess the necessary background to utilize coins in connection with their own specialties because they simply were never taught to deal with coins competently.

As may be seen in the report in this issue on the numismatic papers read at the conventions of the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association, there is a growing awareness in classical studies that all sources of history (including coins) must be studied and correlated if we are to make any progress in our knowledge. The evidence of the coins, the appropriate related inscriptions, the papyri where applicable, the literary sources, and, perhaps most importantly, the results of excavation, all used together will form the reference monographs and books to be published in the coming years.

These remarks are prefatory to another crossroads which

the *Turtle* has reached. That is that the time has come for us to practice what we preach and to further expand ourselves to archaeological and philological problems as related to numismatics. By so doing, we may hope to set the pace for the professional archaeologists and philologists who are beginning to suspect the value of numismatics to their own studies.

The first issue of the year seems the appropriate one in which to announce this aim, and also to speak to the new members and subscribers who have been with us only a few months and who may wonder about several *Turtle* policies.

Most often requested are coin identifications and articles for the beginner in these pages. Because the ACCA has a research committee able to identify any coins which are still elusive after the normal research in reference books, we have felt that attributions in print would be a duplication of effort and not of universal interest. As for articles for the beginner, some do appear from time to time, and especially in the issues of 1965 and early 1966 there are excellent elementary articles on, for instance, numismatic epigraphy. Most of these back issues are available for beginners who missed them. There are innumerable handbooks and periodicals catering to the beginner, and if the *Turtle* is to serve *numismatists* it must not always take two steps backward for the sake of the beginner while advancing only one step forward for the numismatist. Therefore our goal is to nurture the beginner after he has become acquainted with the fundamentals from other sources.

For those who feel the *Turtle* is *too* numismatic (yes, there are some!), we can only say that it would be easy to become a general archaeological journal, as material on other monuments of antiquity is perhaps more plentiful than numismatic information.

So, to reiterate our goal for 1967, we shall try to encompass other areas of ancient history, archaeology and philology, *in relation* to numismatics, thereby reaffirming our dedication to numismatics, but at the same time enlarging our horizons so we may see how ancient coins may best serve the needs of scholarship as a whole.

JOHN E. HARTMANN, *Editor*

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NUMISMATICS AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1966

Notes from the 68th Meeting of the AIA and the APA (Dec. 28-30, 1966) in Toledo, Ohio

With headquarters in the Commodore Perry Hotel (Toledo, Ohio), the two major American societies (Archaeological Institute of America, American Philological Association) for the study of classical antiquity met once more in a joint meeting.

In an effort to keep our readers well informed of the new paths opened to numismatic study by archaeological research, or new excavations and evaluations of information from classical writers, the present report is printed from the notes of ACCA members who participated in the meetings. Space obliges us to limit our listings to a few papers of major numismatic interest. We note with pleasure that the continuously increasing use of numismatic evidence by archaeologists and philologists has reached new peaks this year. The following listings, we believe, are good supporting evidence of this fact which may speed the multiplication of numismatic courses to be offered in the colleges and universities of the U.S.

T. V. Buttrey (U. of Michigan) read a very interesting paper entitled *Halved Coins of the Late First Century B. C.* We hold back our report notes on this paper because we have asked Professor Buttrey for a special summary for the readers of our journal.

R. Stilwell (Princeton U.) in his report on the excavations at Morgantina presented further evidence on the historical and archaeological value of the hoard of gold staters discovered in the ruins of one of the excavated houses.

M. H. Jameson (U. of Pennsylvania) on the evidence of the bronze coins with the inscriptions *TI* and *TIRY* identified the ruins of an ancient city excavated by the University of Pennsylvania near "Porto Cheli" in Argolis as the new settlement of the Tirynthians, expelled by the Argives in 468 B. C., and known by classical writers as the city of Halieis. The fact that this city was considered by its citizens as the "New Tiryns" is documented by the types and inscriptions of their coins.

K. T. Erim (C.C.N.Y.) announced the discovery of an important hoard of 7,000 Byzantine coins in the excavations of

Aphrodisias in Caria. The study of this hoard has not been completed yet but it is of striking significance for the analogies among gold, silver and bronze coins in it, which illustrate, possibly, the availability of coins in Caria.

BLUMA L. TRELL (C.C.N.Y.) *A Numismatic Solution of Two Problems in Euripides.* We consider this paper a very valuable use of numismatic evidence for the final solution of an important interpretative problem in classical philology. The architecture of the temples described in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 113-114, and *Orestes* 1371-1372 is "a problem" for the archaeologist and philologist who know only the ancient temples which have been preserved. For the scholar who also studies the temples which are not preserved in actual ruins but are well illustrated by coins (*architectura numismatica*), what the others called a "problem" is solved with a brilliant and convincing demonstration of details on ancient temples illustrated by numismatic types. A real beam of light on two Euripidean passages previously mistreated by almost every translator.

J. KROLL (Harvard U.), *Pinakia Dikastika.* An excellent account of the Greek bronze allotment lamellae known to date. For the numismatist, the types of state countermarks used for the validation of these lamellae in conjunction with the dating given by the letters of the names inscribed on them, give an excellent basis for a dating of types of small bronze coins.

M. C. ROSS (Hillwood, Washington, D. C.), *A Newly Formed Byzantine Collection in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.* The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts once more gives evidence of far-sightedness in the development of the public's interest in art. Their Byzantine collection (coins included) seems to grow in value and importance as one of the best in the U.S. Our question is: When are the catalogues planned for publication?

SUSAN HANDLER (Toledo Museum of Fine Arts), *The Architecture of Alexandria in Egypt as Seen on the Bronze Coinage*: A paper opening for the first time the closed doors of *Architectura numismatica* illustrated in Alexandrian billon coinage. A brilliant division between "Greek style" temples, "Egyptian style" shrines, altars, arches, etc., was followed by a comparison with actual architectural monuments. We hope to see this excellent work in print soon. It is more than needed and it will be most welcomed by numismatists and archaeologists.

ROBERT J. ROWLAND, JR. (Villanova Univ.) *Numismatic*

Propaganda Under Cinna. An excellent paper evaluating the importance of coin-types for propaganda purposes in the ancient world.

Coin finds were also reported from many other excavations and we can justify the statement that archaeologists are paying much more attention to their numismatic finds than they did before. In addition, a number of members of the ACCA had the opportunity to meet and discuss the possibility of a meeting, similar to the AIA meeting, being proclaimed by the ACCA in the future. The possibility of forming an *American Society for Numismatic Archaeology and Epigraphy* (ASNAE) was also discussed by a group of numismatists and archaeologists in a cordial, informal meeting.

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ANCIENT HOARD UNCOVERED IN DOWNTOWN ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

by Calvin C. Woods

I could not resist generating an exciting title for this equally exciting "find" made by Mr. Frank Hicks of Moline, Illinois. Frank is an avid ancients collector who is attempting to form an ACCA group in his area. In a recent letter he writes:

"I had a real thrill several weeks ago when I got a tip from a friend that a small Army-Navy surplus store in Downtown Rock Island had coins for sale, including possibly some ancients. I visited the place on my lunch hour, and upon asking the owner if he had any old coins, was shocked when he pulled out a paper bag and handed it to me. I emptied the contents in a shallow cardboard box and viewed perhaps 150 small Roman bronzes of the fourth century. Most of them were pretty badly worn or corroded, but I picked out 22 of the best and asked how much. I was somewhat surprised and extremely elated when I was told *ten cents each!* Needless to say, I snapped them up and asked if he had any more. He produced three larger pieces in view-thru holders priced at $1.00 each. Two were Byzantine, and the other was a well worn Roman sestertius that I recognized as an early empire piece and thought I could identify. This piece did identify as Claudius with a Spes Reverse. The coin is worn thin, has a fairly large pit on the reverse and a small one on the obverse. Much of the inscription is gone, but it definitely is Claudius, and I feel I got my dollar's worth.

The 22 late Roman AE3's and AE4's were identified as coins of Constantine the Great, Constantius II, Constans, Valens, Valentinian I and II, Constantine II, Constantius Gallus, and Gratian. After identifying all 22 of these coins, I went back to the store later in the week and picked out 21 more, most all of which I succeeded in attributing. Believe me, I had a few hours of enjoyment." Some people have all the luck . . .

(Note: Calvin Woods is the ACCA chapter coordinator and a frequent contributor to the *Turtle*. Anyone wishing to start a local chapter or to become active in an existing group is invited to address him at 449 Meadow Lane North, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55422).

NUMISMATIC REVIEW, NO. 5, 1966

The fifth issue of the Numismatic Review for 1966 was mailed to our regular subscribers early in January.

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STATILIA MESSALINA AUGUSTA 66-68 A.D.

A New Important Discovery in the Alexandrian Series

by JOHN EMERSON MCCARTHY

Have you any Alexandrian tetradrachms of Nero with an unidentified lady on the reverse? If so, note well the lady illustrated in Fig. 1. In case your "unidentified lady" is the same . . . well congratulations, you must have the second known specimen of a numismatic portrait of Her Imperial Majesty Statilia Messalina, the third wife of Nero. The first known specimen was published only a month ago by Mr. David Sellwood in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*. In my evaluation, the publication of this coin can be considered the most important discovery for the year 1966 in the field of ancient numismatics.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Statilia Messalina on billon Alexandrian tetradrachm (enlarged). From *Numismatic Circular*, Dec. 1966, p. 307.

This most rare coin of the Greek Imperial Series issued in Egypt was not discovered in the cabinet of a great museum as you may think. It was one of several ancient coins from Egypt that were accumulated by a small collector or antiquarian. The most valuable and unique coin of Statilia Messalina remained unidentified by its first owner or owners (who almost surely never dreamed of its significance) until the time the coins were sold and Mr. Sellwood obtained

part or all of them for his collection. At this point of the story (a valuable lesson for beginners!) we can see very well the difference between the real numismatist and the simple collector.

The numismatist studies his coins with the help of reference books: the unsophisticated collector is interested only in values. When the present owner of the unique Egyptian tetradrachm of Statilia Messalina opened *Milne*, for example,

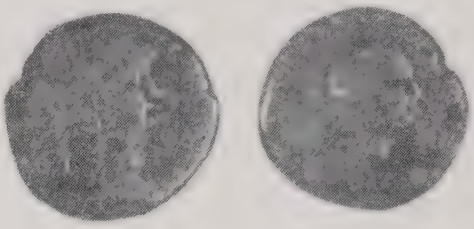

Figure 2. The unique Alexandrian tetradrachm of Statilia Messalina known to date. *Obverse*: Portrait of Nero, diademed and radiate, Greek inscription partly off flan, partly obliterated; *Reverse*: Portrait of Messalina to right (cf. Fig. 1). ΜΕΣΣΑΛΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ(αστὴ). Date L (year) IE (15). From *Numismatic Circular*, Dec. 1966, p. 307

and no such coin was listed in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, he went further and looked at the *BMC* volume where no such coin appeared either. The search continued to the work of *Dattari*, basic for this series, and the lists of *Col. Curtis*, where also nothing similar to his coin could be traced. At this point, the happy numismatist was sure that his small tetradrachm, as proved by his research, was a unique coin.

And it really is an unrivaled reward to a real numismatist to be able, by his research, to add something to our knowledge and to ancient history and archaeology as well. Now we possess a starting point for the questions which will lead to a better knowledge of this famous Imperial lady. Are any as yet unidentified major sculpted portraits of her in museums and private collections? Is she represented on any Roman reliefs or other works of art? The search can start on the basis of what we are taught from the portrait on a small coin, illustrating on its reverse a lady with very strong and distinguished features clearly identified by the inscription as Messalina, and the portrait of Nero on the obverse (Fig. 2). The numismatic and archaeological horizons become somehow wider, if we also will consider another Greek Imperial coin with the portrait of Statilia Messalina, issued in the city of Thyatira in Lydia (Asia Minor). This

coin, which is also considered unique, was published at the end of the last century (Cohen. *Description* . . . vol. I, p. 316) and until December. 1966. was the unique numismatic portrait of Statilia Messalina (See fig. 3).

From the two bronze coins of Statilia Messalina which are preserved, both struck in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, as well as from the lack of any known issues from the Imperial Mint in Rome, we can assume that the third

Fig. 3. Small bronze in the British Museum. *Obverse*: Portrait of Messalina to right. Greek inscription- - - ΣΤΑΤ ΜΕΣΣΑΛ(ίνα). *Reverse*: Double axe and insc. ΟΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ

wife of Nero shared his popularity in the Greek-speaking areas of the empire. So it must be quite logical to expect the existence of several still unpublished issues honoring Statilia Messalina from other Greek imperial mints. It is inexplicable to the present writer why we do not have yet a coin from the mint of Ephesus or Smyrna, but instead the whole number of mints in Asia Minor is represented by a small coin issued in Thyatira.

As for our biographical information on Statilia Messalina, we do somehow score much better than on her coins. We know that she was the granddaughter of T. Statilius Taurus (Consul in 11 A. D.) and had already attended the funerals of four husbands before she married Nero in 66 A. D. Her new marriage lasted until June 9, 68 A. D., when Nero killed himself, but the industrious lady was preparing herself for a sixth husband even before the fifth was buried. Marcus Salvius Otho, who was the major candidate for the Imperial Throne after Nero's suicide, deprived her of the opportunity to attend his funeral as a wife. After his suicide, on April 17, 69 A. D., Statilia Messalina remained for the rest of her life a widow, with considerable riches. The last we hear about her is about her devotion to her studies in rhetoric and her talented and skilled speeches to the public in competition with the major orators of Rome. This is the last known phase in the life of this very interesting lady, who distinguished herself in the fields of matrimony and rhetoric in a way that makes us wish to know more about her. One more thing that can be said about her is that she succeeded also in being

interesting to men. and created justifiable excitement nineteen centuries after her death.

ANCIENT AUTHORS: Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 68; Suetonius, *Nero* 35; Suetonius, *Otho* 10

ARCHAEOLOGY & NUMISMATICS: M. Floriani Squarciapino, in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, vol. IV (1961) p. 1080; David Sellwood in *Numismatic Circular* 74 (1966) pp. 307-8. For a working bibliography of the main references on Alexandrian Imperial Coinage see *VOT* 5 (1966) p. 299.

ROMAN EGYPT

Beside the Nile remain, immortal Nike.
Your eastern sun from Syria's golden skies
To Egypt's sand has brightened Roman armour
Astride a tropic empire, and his eyes
Look over Alexandria. That name
Stands out on many curious ancient coins.
Since days of Ptolemy the harbour town
Gave copper, gold and silver to a world
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And rabble in the market place who saw
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John Skylitzes on Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage

By Al N. Oikonomides

One of the most important landmarks in the history of Byzantine coinage is, beyond any doubt, the introduction of the bronze coinage type which is known to collectors and numismatists as "the anonymous bronze series." Except for the fact that the not yet chronologically classified coins of this group are the most inexpensive of the whole Byzantine series, they are also the best challenge to research that a starting collector can afford to have in his own collection. And it may be a fact that the "key coins" for the final classification of the series may lie at this moment either in the "junk box" of a dealer or in the most obscure collection of byzantine bronzes.

The bronze coins belonging to this series are called "anonymous" because no name of an emperor appears on them. The type was introduced first by the emperor John I. Zimiskes (Dec. 11, 969—Jan. 10, 976), and was used by all the emperors who succeeded him until Constantine X. Ducas (Dec. 25, 1059—May, 1067), who restored the earlier tradition of placing the emperor's portrait and name on the bronzes. The obverse of all the coins belonging to this series is a bust of Christ (Pantokrator type) and the reverse bears different versions of the inscription "IhSYS XRISTYS BASILEYS BASILE'" (Jesus Christ King of Kings).

It is interesting to note, I believe, that the introduction of the "anonymous bronzes" is one of the few events in the history of Byzantine coinage adequately recorded by a contemporary historian. The testimony is that of the historian John Skylitzes, as preserved by an epitomizer, who compiled in Byzantine Greek, a history—a synopsis of other earlier works—covering the history of the world from its creation to the year 1057 (10. Kedrenus *Compendium Historiarum* II, p. 413f., Bonn, 1839). This passage has been studied by all the numismatic scholars who have considered the problems connected with the attribution of the "anonymous bronzes," but, to my understanding, calls for some more work, as far as the clarification of its meaning and historical accuracy is concerned (Sabatier, J., *Monnaies Byzantines*, vol. II, pp. 143-144; Wroth, W., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, pp. li-lii, 480-483;

Bellinger, A., *Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage*, pp. 1-4, N.Y., 1928). The Greek text of the passage is given both by Wroth (pp. li-lii) and Bellinger (p. 2). It seems necessary to give it here once again for the benefit of those who would like to compare our arguments with the original text.

Προσέταξε δέ καὶ ἐν τῷ νομίσματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀβολῷ εἰκόνα ἐγγράφεσθαι τοῦ Σωτῆρος, μὴ πρότερον τούτου γενομένου. Ἐγγράφοντο δὲ καὶ γράμματα ἐν θατέρῳ μέρει ρωμαϊστὶ ὧδέ πῃ διεξιόντα· ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ καθεξῆς ἐτήρησαν βασιλεῖς.

Interesting, I believe, is the observation that in the available translations of the passage, the possibility has not been considered that the one or two difficulties in the interpretation of the text might not be due to "Skylitzes speaking loosely," but to a careless copyist of the later formed *Compendium*. We must consider also the fact that the existence of a mistake in copying is indicated by the sequence of the passage itself, which suffers incredibly not only in the Greek original, but even in the English translation given by Bellinger (p. 2):

> ***"And he commanded the likeness of the Savior to be engraved on the nomisma and the obol, which was not done before this. And Greek letters were engraved on the other side to about this purport, 'Jesus Christ, King of Kings.' And the kings who succeeded him did the same."***

The passage, copied from Skylitzes, refers to the administration of *John I. Zimiskes* and especially to his general reforms. The key sentence to guide one to the right interpretation is that in which Zimiskes is recorded as introducing a novelty to coinage and which is followed by the particular denomination of coin, the appearance of which was changed according to the imperial command. So it becomes obvious that the word *nomismati* cannot be related to the special meaning of the *gold nomisma*, but to the first and general meaning of *coinage*, a usage very common in texts of Byzantine legislature and historiography.

The confusion, as we mentioned above, is due to the misunderstanding of the original text by the compiler of the *Compendium* or a copyist not well aware of the actual meaning of Skylitzes' record of the reform of types in the bronze coinage. This copyist decided that it was more logical for a reform to be ordered first for the most important coin of the imperial series, *the gold nomisma*, and, after that the less important bronze *obol*. So, in an effort to clarify this "discovery" of his to later readers, he added, during the course

of copying the original in front of him. KAI (*and*) after the word *nomismati*. The result was that, from the time that Byzantine numismatics was born to date, the scholars who had the coins themselves on their hands were puzzled and misguided by this previously undetected emendation of the passage by a copyist who thought that he could clarify a subject which he was not able to understand. Numismatists now know that the gold and silver issues of *John I. Zimiskes* were not *anonymous*, and that only the bronzes were reformed by his command on coinage. But they could not imagine that exactly the same thing was mentioned by Skylitzes and his epitomizer, and that the reference to the numismatically unsubstantiated "anonymous gold" was the result of the interference of a copyist.

This short article must close. I believe, with our proposed restoration of the Greek passage and the translation resulting from it.

Προσέταξε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ νομίσματι: Ἐν τῷ ὀβολῷ εἰκόνα ἐγγράφεσθαι τοῦ Σωτῆρος, μὴ πρότερον κλπ

> *"He commanded also regarding the coinage. On the obol to appear the likeness of the Savior, which was not done before this (command). And on the other side were written Romaic letters to about this (legend):* ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ.' *This (command) was preserved also by the kings who succeeded him."*

The 'Romaic letters' mentioned must be considered to be an ingenious term introduced by the historian for the pecular mixture of the Greek and Latin alphabets which resulted in the characteristic inscriptions on the Byzantine coins. "IhSYS XRISTYS BASILE'" is a Greek legend written in 'Romaic' and is, by no means, similar to the transcription in Greek letters used in the text of the Byzantine historian. But we must admire Skylitzes for his "numismatic conscience" for putting so clearly on record the actual difference between the original coin inscription and his Greek transcription. And we must also admire him for adding "*to about this (legend)*", because anybody who has seen even one "anonymous Byzantine bronze" can attest to the fact that the limited space of the coin surface for a long inscription sometimes made necessary the omission of the *S* in BASILEYS, and almost always the indication of the ending *ON* in BASILEON by the abbreviation mark', a common symbol used also in many Byzantine inscriptions and manuscripts.

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Coin Clipping In The Reign Of Edward I — Part III

By Andy Singer

(Continued from December *VOT*, Vol. V, No. 12, p. 357)

Evidently the change in the coinage and the above memorandum worked as expected, for there are very few references to clipping after 1280. There may have been an outbreak of the offense in the Chichester area in 1280, but this was an isolated incident and could have occurred before the memorandum was issued.[50] The Jews offered little trouble with regards to the coinage, and were completely removed from the picture by their expulsion from the kingdom in 1290. The main threat to Edward's new coinage came from the continent, where it was both imitated and clipped. Despite efforts to keep the new coins within England, the English currency enjoyed widespread acceptance and circulation in France, the low Countries, etc.[51]

Edward's final legislation regarding clipped money attempted to deal with that which had been clipped abroad and was entering the realm through foreign trade . . . Bartholomew Cotton reports that in 1289 the king issued a statute against clipped money, and ordered that merchants entering the country be searched and any clipped coins found in their possessions be seized.[52] The last piece of record evidence, dated 23 September 1291, follows a similar pattern:

> "To the treasurer and the barons of the exchequer. Foreasmuch as foreign merchants and also certain natives of the realm bring into the realm from day to day from parts beyond the sea money that has been clipped and other money counterfeit from divers dies intermixed with the king's money, trading with such money to the damage of the king and of all the people of the realm and to the subversion of his money: the king orders the treasurer and the barons to issue orders to all the sheriffs under the exchequer seal to cause proclamation to be made in full county and in all cities and market towns prohibiting any alien or native merchant or anyone else from bringing into the realm or using in trade any such clipped and counterfeit money, upon pain of forfeiting said money for the past offense, and the money and all the

50. *Patent Rolls*: *Edward I*, v. I., p. 142.
51. *Close Rolls*: *Edward I*, v. II., p. 244.
52. Cotton, *op.cit.*, p. 170.

goods for the second offense, and of their bodies and all their goods for the third offense. Others who are not merchants and have such clipped or counterfeit coins shall immediately perforate it and transmit it to the king's exchange to be struck anew under his dye: otherwise said money in the hand of whomsoever it may be found shall be forfeited entirely, and shall in like manner be perforated when it come to the king's hands and shall be sent to his exchange."[53]

In conclusion one should note that the king was able to compete successfully against the clippers of his money. He was able to reduce the crime and its effects to a minimum. In the half-century following 1279-1280 the English coinage was one of the best in Europe, both in materials and craftsmanship, and was eagerly accepted, even imitated, on the continent. Today the pennies of the reign of Edward I remain one of the most artistic, popular, and obtainable of the Medieval European series.

One additional problem dealing with the coinage of Edward I deserves some attention. This problem is connected only indirectly with clipping; however, it did develop because of the popularity of the new coinage. The fact that the sterling coinage was so popular and widely accepted on the continent led to its imitation there: eventually these imitations, generally of a more base composition than the genuine coins, found their way back to England to adulterate the coinage. While the imitation sterling pennies did not compare artistically with the actual English coins, they were good enough to fool the average person who handled them. The seignories issuing these false sterlings included Brabant, Cambrai, Chateau Porcien, Flanders, Hainault, Namur, etc.; the coins themselves have been variously referred to as brabanters, crockards, pollards, kokedones, and other names. On occasion the legends of the imitations were begun with "ED." the same as the genuine issues, to cast further doubt upon their illegitimacy. Specimens of these *deniers á la type esterlin* are found in nearly every hoard of pennies which can be dated to the period 1290-1300; quite often they make up about five percent of the number of coins contained in the cache.[54]

A public clamor soon arose over the growing frequency with which the foreign issues were met, and Edward took ac-

53. *Close Rolls*: *Edward I*, v. III., p. 203.
54. Oman, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

tion *to cleanse* the coinage once more. The *Flores Historiarum* reports that on 26 December 1298 Edward ordered the bad money destroyed. The Close Rolls report arrests and seizures for importing bad and foreign currency into the realm (1299) as per the declaration of 1291 (cf. p. 19). For a time the crockards and pollards were allowed to pass as halfpennies, then they were declared no longer current.[55]

After the infiltration of foreign currency had been dealt with successfully, Edward authorized an increased output of coins to supply long existing demands. Guisborough reports a great increase in the output of coinage in 1300, a correct observation since eleven mints were then in operation.[56] One further measure was taken to insure the integrity of the English coinage, that being that no silver, bullion or coins, be exported without the king's license.[57]

55. *Flores Historiarum, op.cit.*, v. III., p. 106; *Close Rolls: Edward I*, v. IV., pp. 331, 385, 447; Guisborough, *op.cit.*, p. 333; *Annales Monastici, op.cit.*, v. IV., pp. 340, 543; *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds, op.cit.*, p. 156 and *n.*

56. *Guisborough, op.cit.*, pp. 248-249; Seaby, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

57. *Close Rolls: Edward I*, v. IV., p. 390 (11 April 1300).

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The Coins of the Islands Corfu, Cephalonia and Zante Issued Under Venetian Rule *ca.* 1730-1797

By Paul Lambros

Translated by Aloisius Barozzi*[1]

From the abolition of the autonomous mint of Corcyra (Corfu) by order of the Roman Emperor Gordianus I in 238 A.D. until the 18th century, a long gap[2] appears in numismatic history in the series of special issues for the Ionian Islands. The Venetian bronze coins issued in the 18th century not only appear strange to the numismatist, but also to the average Greek[3] who is unable to recognize as his own those coins with the strange crests and symbols and which are inscribed in a foreign language. Their inscriptions give in Italian the names of the three main Ionian islands: *Corfu, Cephalonia* and *Zante*.

The aforementioned coins of course, are not reminders of any glorious days of the Greek nation, but, to the contrary, of a period of slavery and foreign rule.[4] But for those sentimental reasons we must not neglect their study because everything related to the details of the history of our nation must become known. As for the coins forming this special series, we must know them for one more reason: They are the forerunners of the later really autonomous series issued by the Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands[5] in 1801, when in this free and independent portion of the long enslaved nation, statements mentioning *Heritage* and *Greek nation* were heard from state officials for the first time in modern history.

Fig. 1

The obverse and reverse types of the two values belonging to this series of bronze coins are illustrated[6] in figures 1 and 2. They were struck in the mint of Venice for the three main islands of the Ionian possessions of the republic, Corfu, Cephalonia and Zante, but they were circulated also in the other islands of the group, Ithaca, Leucas (Santa Maura) and

Paxo.[7] According to Lazari,[8] they were first issued ca. 1730, either during the last years of the Doge Aloisius Mocenigo III (1722-1732) or during the short rule of the Doge Carlo Ruggini (1732-1735). The coin illustrated in figure 1 was called *gazzetta,* and that in figure 2, *soldo.*

GAZZETTA (plural: *Gazzette*)

The obverse has the complete or shortened inscription CORFU/CEFALONIA/ZANTE in three lines. A rosette appears in the field above the first line and another below the third. The reverse depicts the winged and haloed lion of Saint Mark in a front view,[9] holding the book of the Gospel in his fore-paws. *Inscription* *S. MARCVS. VEN*. In the exergue (divided from the main type by a horizontal bar), the value *II* which means 2 *soldi.* (For varieties indicated by abbreviations in the inscriptions, see the list *infra.*)

SOLDO (plural: *Soldi*)

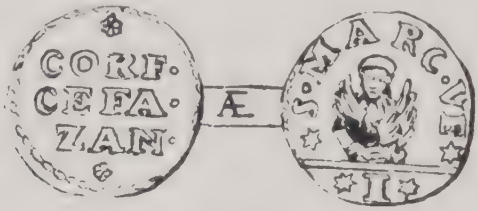

Fig. 2

The same type and inscriptions appear on this coin also. Because of its smaller size, the inscription on the obverse is always shortened. Differences in size and weight are noted among known varieties. On the reverse, in the exergue is the value *I* which means 1 *soldo.* As a major variety must be considered the coins of this value on which ZANTE or ZANT for the island Zante appears in the second line instead of the third, and CEF for the name of the island Cephalonia in the third instead of the second line, (Nos. 25-28).

In the work of Lazari[20] are listed only four varieties of the Gazzetta and two of the Soldo. But only from the coins in my own collection 17 varieties for the Gazzetta and 11 for the Soldo can be listed. The type remains the same, but what actually separates the varieties is the difference in abbreviations of one or both of the obverse and reverse inscriptions.

(See listings on next page)

The actual value and the relation of Gazzetta and Soldo to the gold and silver coins of Venice which were in circulation in the Ionian Islands during Venetian rule is stated exactly in a proclamation issued on June 28, 1762, by Aloisius

Gazzetta

1.	CORFV-CEFALONIA-ZANTE	*S. MARCVS. VEN*
2.	CORFV-CEFALON-ZANTE	*S. MARCVS. VEN*
3.	CORFV CEFALON-ZANTE	*S. MARCVS. VE*
4.	CORFV-CEFAL ZANTE	*S. MARCVS. VEN*
5.	CORFV-CEFAL-ZANTE	*S. MARCVS. VE*
6.	CORFV CEFAL-ZANTE	*S. MARC. VEN*
7.	CORFV CEFAL-ZANTE	*S. MARC. VE*
8.	CORFV-CEFAL-ZANT	*S. MARCVS. VE*
9.	CORFV-CEFAL-ZANT	*S. MARC. VEN*
10.	CORFV-CEFAL-ZANT	*S. MARC. VE*
11.	CORF-CEFAL-ZANT	*S. MARCVS. VEN*
12.	CORF-CEFAL-ZANT	*S. MARCVS. VE*
13.	CORF-CEFAL-ZANT	*SANCT. MARC. VEN*
14.	CORF-CEFAL-ZANT	*S. MARC. VEN*
15.	CORF-CEFAL-ZANT	*S. MARC. VE*
16.	CORF-CEFAL-ZAN	*S. MARCVS. VEN*
17.	CORF-CEFAL-ZAN	*S. MARC. VEN*

Soldo

18.	CORF-CEFA-ZAN	*S. MARC. VE*
19.	CORF-CEFA-ZAN	*S. MARC. V*
20.	CORF-CEF-ZAN	*S. MARC. V*
21.	COR CEFA ZAN	*S. MARC. VE*
22.	COR-CEFA-ZAN	*S. MARC. V*
23.	COR-CEF-ZAN	*S. MARC. VE*
24.	COR-CEF-ZAN	*S. MARC. V*
25.	CORF-ZANTE-CEF	*S. MARC. VE*
26.	CORF-ZANT-CEF	*S. MARC. VEN*
27.	CORF-ZANT-CEF	*S. MARC. VE*
28.	CORF-ZANT-CEF	*S. MARC. V*

Contarini III, "*proveditore*[11] *generale da mar.*" In this text, it is mentioned that although his predecessors in office earlier had established firmly the values and relations of Venetian coins, those orders were violated by some. For this reason, in this proclamation Contarini reissues and reinforces those earlier orders affirming the solid and unchangeable value of the coins as follows:

1 Venetian gold zecchino = 48 lire of gazzette of two soldi each.
1 tallero = 24 lire of gazzette of two soldi each.
1 ducat = 17 lire and 6 soldi.

The penalties of permanent exile, confiscation of property, imprisonment, service in the galleys and even death were threatened in the same proclamation against those who raised

or diminished the above-listed equivalence.

The comparison of values among Gazzette, Soldi and the other Venetian coins mentioned above, I believe can encourage a further comparison with the values of bronze coins circulating in the Seven Ionian Islands in 1855. The Venetian tallero which was still at this date in circulation had then a value of 100 *old*[12] "oboli" or 500 new[13] ones. Comparing this value with the one established by the Venetians to 24 lire (1 lira = 20 soldi) which equal 240 Gazzette or 480 Soldi, we come to the conclusion that 240 Gazzette were equal to 500 "new obols." Since the 240 Gazzette weigh 36 ounces and 500 "new obols" only 30 ounces, we can conclude that the comparative value[14] of the bronze coins called "new obols" was raised 20%.

The circulation of the Venetian Gazzette and Soldi continued for a long time after the end of the Venetian rule (1797). They were abolished only in 1819 at the same time that it was decided that the "old obols" had to be abolished and "new obols" to be issued. But the words "gazzetta" and "soldi" are still used by the inhabitants of the Seven Ionian Islands in the general meaning of "money."[14]

The etymology of the word gazzetta is probably related to the word *gaza*[15] which meant in antiquity *treasury, hoard, gold*, etc. The early English name of the newspaper *Gazette*[16] originates from the French or Italian parallel *Gazzette* which was given to the early newspapers because they were sold for the value represented by the coin originally called by this name.

I have not been able to verify from preserved coins[17] the statement[18] that in 1459 a special *bagattino* (= ½ *Soldo*) was struck in Venice for circulation in Corfu.

Notes

1TN Paul Lambros (1819-1887) became one of the first scholars to represent modern Greek scholarship in numismatics. A number of highly praised articles and essays were translated during his lifetime into Italian, French and German, but this is the first to be translated into English, 80 whole years after his death.

In Ciferri, R., *Saggio di bibliographia Numismatica Medioevale Italiana* (Pavia 1961), p. 247, appears the unique bibliographical reference to this paper, known to the translator, but not easily recognizable under the Italian title "Monete dei possedimenti veneti in Levante." Ciferri also lists 16 other numismatic articles and essays by Lambros (pp. 247-249).

The Greek original of this essay was published in the magazine *Nea Pandora*, Vol. 6 (1855), pp. 80-82. I have omitted from the translation the two initial long paragraphs intended to give a literary and rhetorical summary of numismatic history for the Ionian Islands from antiquity

to the 18th century, as they are not pertinent for the study of the main subject. In the rest of the text only a few changes were made in the effort to facilitate its reading and to keep the reader aware that the author wrote in 1855 and not in 1967. Original footnotes have only a number. Those added by myself start with TN (= Translator's Note).

I must thank Mr. Soterios Gardiakos, who kindly allowed me to use his Xerox copy of the original for this translation. I will have to admit that I had never heard of this article nor seen it before I was enthusiastically introduced to it by Mr. Gardiakos. The users of numismatic catalogues and books dealing with this period of numismatic history can, I hope, appreciate the valuable and elsewhere unavailable information given by Lambros which remains to date the unique reference for the gazzette and soldi circulated by the Venetians in the Ionian Islands.

2TN For the derniers tournois struck in Corcyra by Philip of Taranto (ca. 1294), see G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (1878 Rpr. 1954), p. 389. (Cf. also note 17 below.)

3TN The reader must not forget that Lambros wrote this article for the readers of a weekly Greek literary magazine.

4TN In 1855, the Ionian Islands were still occupied by the British. The Union with Greece movement of the Ionians was proclaiming that anything connected with the foreign rule of the islands was a memory of shame.

5TN Lambros later, in 1884, published a special essay on this series of coins which included also the medals issued in the Ionian Islands from 1799 to 1811.

6TN From the woodcuts published in the original. *Nea Pandora* 6 (1855), p. 81.

7TN Lambros does not mention anything about their circulation in Parga, Vonitza, Voutrinto and Prevesa. We must, however, assume that they did circulate there also, possibly together with the *Dalmatia et Albania* issues. (See note 9 below.)

8TN Lazari, V. *Le monete dei possedimenti veneziani di oltremare e di terraferma descritte ed illustrate.* Venice 1851, p. 89.

9TN Coins of the same type were issued also for the Venetian possessions on the Dalmation coast. They differ from the Ionian issues only in the inscription on the obverse, DALMA(tia) / ET / ALBAN(ia). See the work of Lazari mentioned in note 8, and Craig, W. D., *Coins of the World* 1750-1850 (Racine, Wisc. 1966), p. 43. Craig based his account of the Ionian series on earlier works which didn't know or use Lambros' revision of and addenda to the treatment by Lazari. Also, in Craig's book, p. 44, the 1801 issues of the free Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands are listed with many mistakes. The Greek inscriptions on the coins are badly copied, the issues with Latin inscriptions are not listed, the coins of 5 gazzette are not mentioned, and instead of 10 gazzette, a fantastic value of 12 gazzette is created. Things are somewhat better in Rinaldi, O., *Le Monete coniate in Italia dalla Rivoluzione Francese ai nostri giorni,* Vol. 1 (Mantua 1954), pp. 70-71, but the author is definitely unaware of Lambros' essay especially for this series (cf. note 5 above), as well as of the existence of the coins of 10 gazzette. The rarity grade RRR (= very rare) is given to all coins listed, as well as valuable auction references. But Rinaldi seems also to be unaware of the fact that those autonomous coins were minted in Corfu and not in Italy, and historically by no means can be considered as

Italian or related to the provisional Napoleonic issues.

10 Lazari V. *ibidem.*

11TN A title which can be translated as "general commandant of the sea forces."

12TN Issued in 1819 by the British authorities for the Ionian Islands. Struck in London in the Royal Mint. See Pridmore F., *The coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations,* Part I (London 1960), p. 80. No. 19.

13TN What Lambros calls "new obol" was the "1/5 obol" struck in the Royal Mint of London in 1834 (Pridmore, F., *Op. cit.,* p. 81, No. 23).

14TN 102 years after Lambros wrote, the words still are in use in the local dialect of the Ionian Islands. The Ionians now call the modern Greek coins of 10 lepta by the name of gazzetta. The word *soldo*, hellenized in *soldion*, proverbially means money, but was also used to mean the 5 lepta coin.

15TN Cf. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* s.v. Gaza.

16TN Cf. *Oxford Universal Dictionary* s. v. Gazette ". . . from the coin of that name paid for the paper or for a perusal of it."

17TN Lambros had one of the best collections ever formed in Greece of medieval and early 19th century coins related to Greek history. In the same paragraph (part omitted), he also expresses doubts about the attribution to a mint at Corfu of coins issued by Philip of Taranto and John of Gravina, mentioned by Buchon and De Saulcy. (Cf. note 2 above.)

18 *Venezia e le sue lagune,* Vol. I, part II, p. 68.

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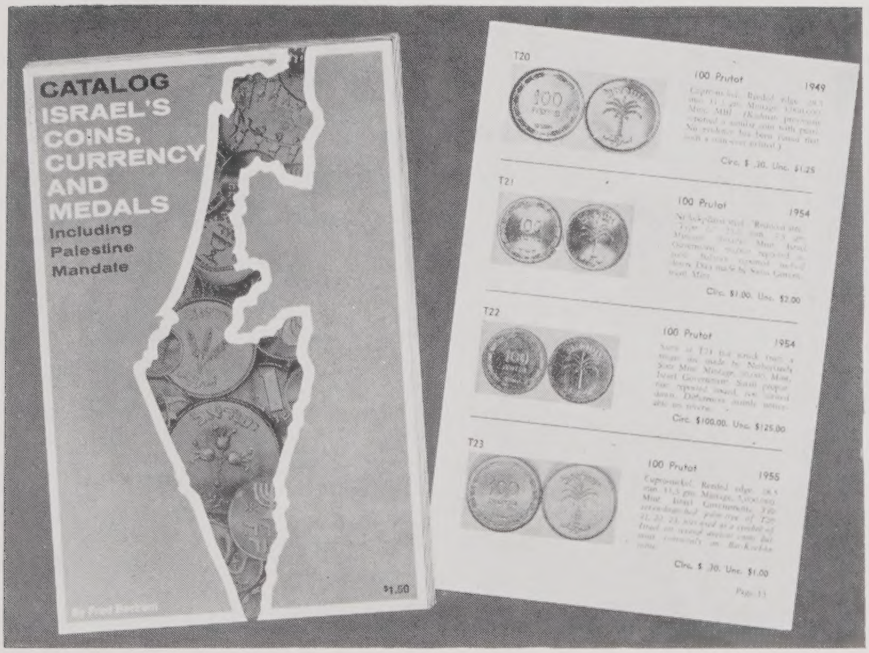

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